

Message Text

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FOR AMB YOUNG AND COOKS FROM HOLLOWAY

FOL RPT LUSAKA 1168 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO CAPE TOWN, GABORONE,
DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, LILONGWE, LONDON, MAPUTO, PRETORIA & USUN
NEW YORK DTD 05 APR 78

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1168

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV RH US UK

SUBJ: RHODESIA: OUTSTANDING ISSUES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
PROPOSALS

1. IN SPITE OF ASSURANCES FROM FRONT LINE LEADERS THAT THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS FOR THE
TRANSITION PERIOD UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN, WE BELIEVE
THAT NKOMO AND MUGABE ARE STILL SOME DISTANCE FROM ACCEPTING
THEM. SINCE MALTA THEY HAVE APPARENTLY GIVEN SPECIFIC ASSURANCE
TO THE FRONTLINE IN TWO AREAS. FIRST, THEY HAVE ACCEPTED THE
IDEA OF A UN POLICE FORCE, AND SECOND, THEY AGREE IN GENERAL TO
THE CONCEPT OF GIVING THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AUTHORITY IN THE
AREAS OF SECURITY, LAW AND ORDER, DEFENSE AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.
THIS, HOWEVER, LEAVES A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS UNRESOLVED. AS FAR
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AS WE CAN TELL, THEY ARE THE FOLLOWING:

A. BALANCE OF FORCES WITHIN THE GOVERNING COUNCIL. FROM DIS-
CUSSIONS WITH MARK CHONA, AS WELL AS WITH ZAPU MEMBERS, WE HAVE
THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PF MAY CLAIM AT MALTA II THAT THE SITUA-
TION HAS CHANGED SINCE MALTA I. THERE ARE NOW ONLY TWO PARTIES
TO BE CONSIDERED: THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE SALISBURY GROUP.
IT IS OUR GUESS THAT THE PF WILL START OFF BY INSISTING THAT

BECAUSE OF ITS ROLE AS THE LEADER OF THE FIGHTERS WHO BROUGHT SMITH TO ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE, IT SHOULD HAVE A MAJORITY OF THIS COUNCIL: FOR EXAMPLE, FIVE MEMBERS AS OPPOSED TO FOUR FOR THE SALISBURY GROUP. IT MIGHT THEN FALL BACK TO ACCEPTING FOUR-FOUR WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER HAVING A DECIDING VOTE. WE BELIEVE THE PF WILL STRONGLY RESIST THE KIND OF GOVERNING COUNCIL SUGGESTED AT MALTA I IN WHICH EACH OF THE NATIONALISTS GETS TWO SEATS. FURTHERMORE, THERE WILL BE A NEW PROBLEM OF WHETHER OR NOT CHIRAU SHOULD BE INCLUDED. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT US-UK THINKING IS ON THIS SUBJECT. AT MALTA OF COURSE THE UK PROPOSED TWO MEMBERS FOR EACH OF THE FOUR NATIONALISTS GROUPS REPRESENTED AT GENEVA. IF WE ACCEPT THE ZAMBIAN AND PF CONTENTION THAT THERE IS NOW A SALISBURY GROUP AND A PF, THAT MIGHT LEAVE A WAY FOR CHIRAU TO BE REPRESENTED. HOWEVER IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE PF TO ACCEPT THAT THE SALISBURY GROUP SHOULD HAVE A LARGER REPRESENTATION THAN IT. THEREFORE THE MALTA I FORMULATION RETAINS MANY ADVANTAGES.

B. POLICE. IN SPITE OF CHONA'S ASSURANCES THAT THE PF IS NOW PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE MALTA I FORMULATION, WE BELIEVE IT WILL ARGUE STRENUOUSLY FOR SOME REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE POLICE FORCE, THOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE IT WILL BACK OFF THIS.

C. CONTROL OVER PF ARMED FORCES. IF THE PF ACCEPTS OUR PROPOSAL FOR THE POLICE, IT IS LIKELY TO DEMAND THAT SOME OF ITS FORCES BE EXEMPT FROM CONTROL BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OR AT LEAST NOT BE CONFINED TO QUARTERS. THIS WE BELIEVE IS ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH. THE PF WILL PROBABLY NOT IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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BEGINNING BE WILLING TO CONCEDE THAT THE FORCES WHICH REMAIN BEYOND CONTROL OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BE THOSE LEFT OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY IN ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE.

D. MILITARY COMMITTEES. WE PROPOSED TWO MILITARY COMMITTEES AT MALTA I, A CEASEFIRE MAINTENANCE COMMITTEE AND A MILITARY COMMITTEE RELATED TO FORMATION OF THE NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY. THE PF WILL DEMAND EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION ON BOTH OF THOSE COMMITTEES. WE OFFERED EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION ON ONLY THE FIRST OF THE TWO. WE BELIEVE THEY WILL PERSIST IN THEIR MALTA POSITION.

2. THE FRONT LINE OF COURSE WILL PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE THAN IT HAS IN THE PAST IN SEEKING COMPLETE AGREEMENT AT MALTA II. IN OUR LAST CONVERSATION, CHONA SAID THAT THE ZAMBIANS HAD STUDIED THESE MATTERS CAREFULLY AND HAD DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE. HE IMPLIED CLEARLY HOWEVER THAT THEY EXPECTED NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE BY BOTH SIDES IN THE FORTHCOMING MEETING. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A TIME WHEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS SO ANXIOUS TO COME TO AGREEMENT WITH US. NEVERTHELESS WE DOUBT THAT IT IS WILLING SIMPLY TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS WE MADE AT MALTA I. WE BELIEVE THAT IT AS WELL AS THE FRONT LINE EXPECTS THE UK AND THE U.S. TO BE FORTHCOMING IN MEETING THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF THE PF. PRESERVING ADEQUATE AUTHORITY FOR THE RESIDENT

COMMISSIONER AND A PLACE EQUAL TO THAT OF ZANU AND ZAPU FOR MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WILL NOT BE EASY. WE EXPECT THE FRONT LINE WILL PROVIDE CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT TO THE PF IN WHITTling AWAY AT BOTH OF THESE TWO. THOUGH THEY ARE NO LONGER CALLING FOR POWER TO BE TURNED OVER TO THE PF, WE DOUBT THAT THEY ARE YET PREPARED TO SACRIFICE AN ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO THEIR DESIRE FOR AN AGREEMENT AT MALTA II. LOW UNQUOTE VANCE

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